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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisád* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kadáw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kadáw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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574 "Every Isneg should be renowned for his hospitality. Except in case of taboos, never close your gate to a wayfarer; give him a place at your hearth, give him a jar to cook his food in, allow him to sleep in your house; if you are eating, invite him to partake of your meal. Such is the rule. His ordinary needs should always be looked after, that is, all his wants which it does not cost you too much to supply. If your wife shows an inhospitable disposition, and you know facts that positively prove it, then you have a sufficient reason for divorcing her. No woman who refuses a guest the ordinary courtesy of receiving him hospitably should be allowed to share your home. A hospitable woman is an ornament to the house; an inhospitable Isneg is a disgrace to the race."

574 609 Nevertheless the Isneg are usually considered by outsiders as less hospitably disposed than most other inhabitants of northern Luzon. While among other tribes the best things they have are never too good for a guest, the Isneg are comparatively stingy in that respect: they rarely provide a guest with viands to eat with his rice, even though they have a sufficient amount of them at hand, except of course some kinds of vegetables and other eatables that can be found all around without the least exertion. Or is this due again to their evidently distinct way of treating members of other tribes, especially Kagayan? It has been told me indeed very plainly by several Isneg that with the Ibanag, you could do almost no wrong, and that almost everything was allowed with them. I myself have generally been received very kindly by all Isneg, but usually more so by natives who had travelled around and come in contact with other people. At Madatag an old man once called me in and killed a chicken for me: "This is the way", he said, "an honorable guest should be received; I know it, as I have traveled very extensively; those other Isneg, benighted people, they do not know how to treat a guest decently". And so the apparently less hospitable mind of the Isneg may perhaps be ascribed simply to invincible ignorance, instead of to stinginess or to lack of love for the Ibanag.

577 628 [672] "Revenge is sweet to every Isneg. Never let an injury pass by unrevenged. Much has been heard from the Ibanag about forgiveness; that term does not belong to our vocabulary. An Isneg who fails to exact full satisfaction for every misdeed is a coward. If somebody who belongs to an enemy village does you some harm, you have the right to revenge yourself upon anyone belonging to the same village: in such cases we recognize solidarity of guilt. A male-

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show; there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busidmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act otherwise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick to truth even in their case."

Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

"Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for vengeance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed. A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit. So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent. When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance, when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions, and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

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you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

"Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence (*maglibá-*; in Ilоko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case, just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you?

"Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sày-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *makiddáyaw* (proud) or *napaúlaw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head.

"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. *Motives Proposed to Young*

Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
178 mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception, however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the background.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice. *Anagalukkáp* (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an infallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity.
[431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatád*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra. We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Foreseeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey, the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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rice, or if they so preferred, to give it to us with the condition that a similar amount would be given back to them on our return a few days later. The Anayan men denied, however, that they had any rice at all, and even after the soldiers had made our identity known to them, they still persevered in their denial and evidently were lying to us, as several receptacles, in the house of one of them, were found by the soldiers to be full of the requested cereal. This looked to everybody like a tremendous breach of hospitality and an enormous lack of generosity and gratitude, since the Anayan people are practically fed by Apayaw, the more so that on the next day we would have to do without our midday meal, after a march of six hours climbing and descending precipitous mountain sides, completely devoid of all vegetation, with a tropical sun burning over our heads.

Now let us look at this case the other way. At first all of us were complete strangers to the Anayan people (the captain did not wear any of the insignia of his rank); they were Isneg, we were Ibanag: and the latter are not renowned for honesty when dealing with the Isneg. What the Anayan people undoubtedly were thinking about the whole affair was something like this: "They will take our rice and say good-bye, and we shall never see them again", which would indeed very often have been the case under similar circumstances. Add to this that Anayan is a barren country; the people have to get their rice from Dagara, in Apayaw, at the cost of almost superhuman exertions: indeed they have to carry pitch pine and some other heavy commodities of little value over a long and hard mountain path, in order to trade them for that all-important cereal; consequently they rightly believe that rice is not something to be left at the mercy of the first adventurer who happens to come along.

But then, it may be asked, why did they persevere in their denial, even after they had learned about our identity, the more so that they also must have heard about the soldiers' detective work? Well, for no other reason than that they were ashamed: they were ashamed to acknowledge that they had told us a lie. And that this shame was a real excuse for them was afterwards acknowledged even by my companions. If it had been possible for them to find the means of presenting us with rice, without having to admit the deception they had been practising, for instance by going to borrow it from a neighboring settlement, they would most probably have done so. Shame is worse than anything to our people, as everybody here knows by practical experience. And so, after all, the Anayan Isneg did not

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
514 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
577 ship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes, to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowledging their deception, even after it had become patent and after they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly. His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories; I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married, I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber, rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it, so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this, Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
183 compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
577 common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is
626 almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks

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583 and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own
435 business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads:
422 a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

583 All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from
435 China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently an-
422 tiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars
353 that have been imported recently usually command a much lower
415 price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the
178 Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually,
523 however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those
[291 they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally
286 unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people cer-
439] tainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

584 During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay
583 with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to
591 do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

574 No really important business can be transacted, of course, among
584 the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the
262 ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

584 All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is con-
574 nected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not inter-
562 fere in the least.

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sāy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sāy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sāy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básІ* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básІ* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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sides, the most cogent social reason for an Isneg to enter the state of matrimony, is an economic one, as recorded at the beginning of this chapter: he wants his wife to feed him and to relieve him of most all solicitude and anxiety with reference to his daily sustenance and that of his children. Now if he happens to be frustrated in his expectations, there is no reason why he should not turn his eyes elsewhere and try to make a better choice, abandoning his old love and embarking on a new matrimonial venture.

3. Lack of hospitality. This is another reason why an Isneg man may abandon his wife. He will not suffer the shame of having his house shunned by strangers because his partner does not show the customary courtesy to a guest. This certainly lays a strong curb upon the habitual crabbedness of many Isneg women, who are not renowned for sweetness of temper. Their irritability is understandable, however, as the habitual drudgery, which is their common lot, is far from conducive to softening of temper.

By the wife:

1. Adultery of the man. An Isneg husband is allowed much more freedom in this respect than his wife, but things may come to such a pass that even the most patient woman is unable to stand it. Besides, a certain incompatibility may have been present from the beginning, and then of course a husband's mistakes, which under ordinary circumstances are regarded as petty faults, may become a sufficient reason for breaking the tie altogether.

2. Habitual laziness. An Isneg wife rarely expects too much with reference to her husband's activity. But if he regularly fails to comply with the few duties that fall to his share, and does not give his wife the necessary help without which she cannot reasonably comply with her own part of the work, then of course the easiest way for her is to try her luck elsewhere, or to wait for a better opportunity, in the meantime leaving her former husband to his own devices.

Needless to say, divorce happens much more often in the case of couples who have been forced into matrimony by their parents, than in that of young people who have arranged everything on their own initiative.

Again divorce rarely happens late in life, when husband and wife have been living together for many years, and have perhaps married not a few of their children. Indeed, a woman who has proved faith-

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586 ful for many years, rarely becomes an adulteress in her old age, and, on the other hand, a young wife is much more jealous of the exclusive love of her husband than an older one; and people who were industrious during the first years of their married life, rarely give their partner a reason for divorce on that score later in life, when several children may perhaps be helping them to lighten the burden. 586 With reference to lack of hospitality on the part of the woman, this 574 also will rarely be a reason for permanent separation after many years of cohabitation; because the woman does not as a rule change with years in her habitual politeness toward guests of the house, or, if she does, her husband will in all probability have become more lenient in that respect and forgive her more easily any breach of hospitality that may happen at a time when the former good reputation of the house will hardly be impaired by a little grumbling on the part of a woman advanced in years.

586 To separate (*maxadi*) is usually a very easy matter, as regards 684 husband and wife. A few hard words may occasionally accompany the ultimate breaking of the marriage tie, but in general both of them merely go their own way. The woman goes back to her parents and the husband stays where he is, or, in case the latter is still living at the house of his parents-in-law, he leaves and she stays: and there the matter rests as far as they are concerned. With reference to the children, the little ones follow the mother, and the others are free to do as they please: they may take sides with either their father or their mother according to their own wishes. If the *tádug*, or price paid for the bride, is to be returned to the parents of the groom, these have to look out for it by themselves, and to agree about the matter with the parents of their former daughter-in-law. The divorced couple had no hand in the whole affair at the time of their marriage, and they never obtained any advantages on that account, so why should they bother about it at this stage and enter into discussions which could bring them only trouble without the smallest prospect of any emolument?

Isneg law is very simple in this respect. If the husband is at fault, nothing is returned, and besides the culprit is often heavily fined (*xúsi* jars, beads, etc.) by the angered relatives of the girl. If the wife is the guilty party, everything has to be given back. But in practice it is sometimes very hard to decide whether the blame is or is not all on one side. Except in a few cases, as in that of flagrant adultery on the part of the woman and so on, everything may have

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Isneg

After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatân* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *obóbāt;* if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *obóbāt*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapāt* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbāt.* The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinensis) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwań* remains tabooed until the *obóbāt* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbāt* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *úlin*, and any work done on [illegible] day is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *obóbāt.* Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*óoń*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *aníboń* or fishtail palm, etc.).

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574]
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and continues through the night. The youth and girl must [784]
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [W2]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

776 [824] The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkard happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an anito is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occa- 796 sion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The 574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[791] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes. 796 574 252 462 202

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed. 796 574 264 782 [778]

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 535 796 534 574 [533] 535 796 574

535 ing in the clear space and is joined by a woman, per-
796 chance of his own choice. Occasionally a highly hon-
574 ored guest has two partners. They raise and wave their arms and hands resembling the wings of a bird in flight. The man gestures with his outspread cloth and goes in a circle somewhat reminiscent of a youth courting a girl. Their feet begin to shuffle and then stamp in cadence to the music. In the middle of the dance one of the family brings *basi* for the dancers and musicians to drink. The music rapidly becomes faster and louder so that the dancers must stamp harder and faster and raise their knees higher. This is such hard exercise that one of the couple soon gives up and goes and sits down. His partner follows suit and the music stops. The man hands his cloth to a friend, who starts the next dance. This dance is difficult to learn, and only long experience makes one
[531] proficient in it. Sometimes, if some famous old warrior does not choose to dance, the people shout, and he recounts his noble deeds in the characteristic chant, *oggayam*.

Meanwhile the people are talking and joking.[1] The (1)
is happy. Dancing and talking become more excit- (4)
and once in awhile drinks pass around: so everybody (3)
basi has been dug up from underneath the granary (2)
[537] ing. Sometimes two men contest in a long debate (5)
over some such matter as the quality of the feast. They talk in the characteristic chant, *palawag*. If one of the men cannot chant, he shouts. The party is be-
796 coming noisy. There is some enjoyable antiphonal
574 singing. A group of boys sing and a group of girls
533 answer: sometimes using well-known songs with a
786

1 [The numbers to the right of the text indicate the proper sequence of lines.--Analyst]

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

628 ed a jar of *basi* and invited all the people to drink with the brothers. When they were gathered, he asked them all to come into the house. After they were all in, he fastened them in. Then he offered a cup of *basi* to the *maingel*. Instead of letting him take it, Ewagan dashed the *basi* on the head of the *maingel* and killed him. Then the brothers killed all the people and flew with their blood to the river. All the possessions of those people wer collected; and Ewagan, by his magic powers, flew them to Pindayan, his home.

582 Then the brothers went to the house of Himbanganan in Dudongan, bringing her all the heads of the people of Dombilan. Himbanganan was afraid in the presence of all the brothers, and promptly agreed to marry Hinadolan without the necessity of a dowry. She followed the brothers to Pindayan, where she and Hinadolan were married and lived thereafter.

THE ORPHANS

789 Long ago there lived three orphans; two boys and a girl. These orphans were the sons and daughter of a rich family. These brothers and the sister were expert magicians. They did not suffer any hardships. When they became hungry, they just prayed to an *anito* for their needs and their wants would all be [577] provided for. They were very religious. They were humane and helpful to those who were in need.

789 574 One day they wanted to have a feast. So they invited all their relatives, their friends, and all their neighbors. They only prepared one chupa of rice, one

jar of *basi*, a small pig, and a small dog. When all their visitors had arrived, their house was not able to accommodate all the people. Their sister, whose name was Hinalingan, came out from their house and said. "Oh, *anito*, I pray to you that my house will become big so that it can accommodate all my visitors." After uttering this wish, the visitors could see the house becoming bigger and bigger until all of them were accommodated.

The older brother, by the name of Hinadolan, went near the stove and said, "I pray to *anito* that all our food will be prepared." Not long after that all the food were prepared. Then they distributed the rice and other food.

After eating, the dance started. It was led by a young brother, named Imlang. Imlang took his sister, Hinalingan, and began the dance. While Imlang, and his sister were dancing, their visitors were surprised to see that they were like birds flying in the air. It was because their feet did not touch the floor; but they were dancing in the air. After the dance, they ate again. Then after all had eaten, it was found that not even half of the food prepared was consumed by the people. Now the feast was over and their visitors returned to their homes.

Three nights after the feast, one of the men from among their visitors came with his father. After they arrived, they were entertained by the brothers and sister who asked what was the purpose of their visit. The man replied that he loved Hinalingan and wished to marry her. Courtship was followed by the marriage ceremony. The couple lived happily with the brothers after that.

thought that, as they were very few and the people of Alisit were many, the trip would be very dangerous. There were only seven men and three women. So instead of going by the way of Alisit, they went by the way of Langnao to Sulsuna. They reached Sulsuna all right, and on their return trip reached Baliwan; but one man was injured in the foot. The other people wanted to carry him; but he did not like them to as they might meet an enemy, who would kill him as he lay in the sling. So he said that he would walk along slowly. The people of Baliwan were holding a peace-pact feast and wanted the people of Kumao to stay; but they did not want to spend the time or be to the expense. So they went on and came to a field. Some went to get sugar cane and others went to the river. The lame man, Subugay, went on ahead and came into an ambush of Alisit warriors. But they waited until the others came up, and then the many warriors of Alisit attacked. Subugay was wounded in his hand by a spear: but escaped. Two of his companions were killed and three wounded. The Kumao people were all surrounded by the Alisit people; but they managed to get away and hide in the forest. They reassembled, and the Baliwan people helped them to carry their killed and wounded home to Kumao, which they reached about night time.

Then the people of Kumao went to attack the Alisit people. There were many warriors, as they wanted to revenge their relatives. When they reached Bangcarao, they stopped there to wait for anybody who might be passing. Finally two Alisit men came